Free The Eighteen
Imprisoned Trotskyists

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CONVICTION OF 18 USED AS PRECEDENT

Green Protests Against Forced Labor Proposal

Union Bureaucrats Incapable of Leading Fight Against Wall St.; Preservation Of Unions Demands Program Of Independent Action!

By C. Thomas

Following Roosevelt's proposal for a national service act the Senate Military Affairs Committee began public hearings on the Austin-Wadsworth forced labor bill. For weeks the committee provided a forum for supporters of the measure. The facilities of the press and radio were made available to broadcast the testimony of the forced labor advocates. After all this ballyhoo the Senate Committee finally got around to inviting the first opposition witness to the Austin-Wadsworth bill when AFL president William Green appeared last week to testify.

The gist of Green's testimony was that forced labor legislation was unwise and unnecessary. He declared that American labor had performed miracles of production since Pearl Harbor; that labor conscription would be bad for the morale of the workers; that it would not eliminate strikes but would further provoke the workers as the experience of Great Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand have shown; that there was no manpower shortages, and finally, that the labor leaders had been very efficient in curbing strikes and had reduced them to a minimum. This was a difficult task, Green complained, in view of the government's failure to "stabilize the cost of living."

GREEN'S PLEA

The Senate Military Affairs Committee is intimately linked with the brass hats and functions as an agency of the Military General Staff. In his message to Congress, Roosevelt stated flatly that his proposal for a national service act came as a "joint recomendation from the heads of the War Department, the Navy Department and the Maritime Commission." **In view of these known facts, the arguments presented by Green before the committee constituted a plea that the labor bureaucrats be permitted to continue functioning as agents of the Military Staff within the labor movement as a more effective means of keeping the workers in line than military regimentation under a forced labor law.**

Prior to Green's appearance the Executive Committees of the AFL and CIO had held meetings and adopted resolutions in opposition to a forced labor law embodying essentially the same arguments which Green voiced to the Military Affairs Committee. The CIO Executive Board reiterated "its unconditional pledge that there shall be no strikes or stoppages." The AFL Executive Council further defined **the "unconditional" no-strike pledge by adding, "we have decided that no matter what the character of the grievance, no matter how feelings have been stirred nor what the aggravations are, there can be no justifications for strikes or local stoppages." Senator Austin, chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee and co-author**

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Negro Leaders Urge Pardon For Eighteen

Two outstanding Negro spokesmen this week joined the Civil Rights Defense Committee's national campaign to secure an unconditional Presidential pardon for the 18 imprisoned Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Local 544-CIO union leaders framed-up under the Smith "Gag" Act. Angelo Herndon, editor of *The People's Advocate* and himself a famous class-war prisoner during the 1930's, and George Schuyler, columnist for the *Pittsburgh Courier*, have voiced vigorous demands for the freedom of the 18.

Herndon, who spent years in prison for leading an unemployed demonstration in the South, wrote President Roosevelt: "I am convinced, after a careful study of the evidence, that these defendants have not been accorded their constitutional right of freedom of speech. . . It is also apparent from a reading of the evidence that the men are being persecuted for utterances which the courts have failed to designate as an offense against Federal authority, or the mere exercise of freedom of speech as provided for in the Federal Constitution.

"Since no 'crime' has been clearly defined as a basis for the conviction of the defendants, it seems that there being no further recourse through the courts, then it is your duty, as President of the United States, to grant them a pardon now in order that the basic principles of the Constitution and the Four Freedoms of the Atlantic Charter, which you helped to frame, might have real meaning."

JOIN PROTEST

In a recent issue of the Pittsburgh Courier, Schuyler declared: "Free speech has taken a beating in the case of the 18 Minneapolis members of the Truckdrivers Union now serving from 12 to 16 months in federal prison for expressing their opinion. Three times the U. S. Supreme Court has refused to review their conviction. President Roosevelt has been asked to pardon them. If the Four Freedoms mean anything, he should do so."

Among other Negro leaders

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"Democratic Justice"

In Pittsburgh on Feb. 16, five Ku Klux Klan leaders charged with conspiracy faced federal judge Thompson. He told them, according to the N. Y. Times (Feb. 17), they could "walk from the courtroom free men."

On Dec. 31 in Minneapolis and New York 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO convicted of conspiracy under the Smith "Gag" Act were sent to serve twelve to sixteen month prison terms.

Under Roosevelt's regime those who spread race hatred and anti-labor poison are allowed to go free while working class fighters for racial equality, for democratic unionism and for socialism are put behind bars.

Soldiers' Families Suffer Because Of Meager Allotments

In New York on Feb. 15, detectives arrested the wife of a soldier for abandoning her baby. Her story highlights the privations suffered by servicemen's dependents who have no income other than the meager government allotment.

The 21-year-old Mrs. Stefanski said that until two months ago, she had been attempting to keep up her home on an army allotment of $62 a month; since then, her sole income has been the increased allowance, now $80 for a wife and child.

"I used the money to care for the baby and myself," she told the police, "but as the months went by and the cost of living went up, I found that . . . I just wasn't able to make ends meets. I decided to look for a job, but I had one worry to overcome — that was to find someone to care for my baby while I worked."

By this time, she added, she was in debt to her landlord and grocer, and the gas had been shut off. She was penniless. Appeals to charity organizations brought no help. Desperate, she "abandoned" the child at a Red Cross station, and went job-hunting.

How could Mrs. Stefanski have supported herself and her baby on less than $20 a week? Food costs have risen to almost double 1941 levels, the OPA has sanctioned the elimination of lower-priced clothing, children's wear particularly has skyrocketed in price. No adequate nursery care which might have enabled her to find work sooner has been offered by city, state, or national government. The recent small increase in allotments voted by Congress is insufficient for the support of servicemen's families.

Workers constitute the bulk of the armed services today, and workers' families suffer at home from the loss of their incomes. The organized labor movement must aid these brothers in uniform by demanding trade union wages for all men in the armed forces in order to prevent such desperate want among servicemen's families.

Founder Of Red Army

Leon Trotsky, Lenin's co-partner in the Bolshevik 1917 Revolution, was the organizer and leader of the Red Army when it saved the young Soviet Union. The Red Army celebrated its 26th Anniversary on Feb. 23. (See Editorial on Page 4.)

Subsidy Hoax Masks Govt. Wage Freeze

The sham battle between the Roosevelt administration and Congress over the so-called "stabilization program" resulted last week in Roosevelt's veto of a bill adopted by Congress outlawing the administration's food subsidy program after June 30. The House of Representatives sustained the veto when the opponents of the subsidy plan failed to muster the two-thirds majority necessary to over-ride the veto. The final vote was 226 in favor of the bill to 151 against, or 26 votes short of the two-thirds required. This paralleled the action on a similar measure last July when Roosevelt's veto was upheld 228 to 154, or by twenty-seven votes short of the two-thirds margin.

The administration subsidy "roll-back" program was projected last summer as a device to justify the continuation of the wage-freezing Little Steel formula. The top union leaders fell in line and diverted the pressure of the ranks for increased wages to meet the rising cost of living. The workers were assured that the Roosevelt subsidy plan was going to roll back prices to restore the balance between wages and the cost of living which had risen far above the wage raise ceiling of 15 percent allowed by the Little Steel formula.

ROLL BACK HOAX

In his veto message, Roosevelt is laying the basis for a repetition of the roll back hoax when he says: "It is clear that we cannot hold the wage line if the Congress deprives us of the means necessary to hold the cost of living line." The "wage line" meant is the Little Steel formula. Roosevelt's own Bureau of Labor Statistics has published figures stating that the cost of living has gone up 23.5 percent since Jan. 1, 1941. The CIO and AFL statistical surveys have successfully challenged these figures and proved that the cost of living has gone up at least 43.5 percent in the period covered.

Instead of the much-heralded "roll-back," the cost of living continued to rise during the period in which the subsidy program was in effect! Roosevelt's new subsidy program is not one whit different nor will it be any more effective in holding down prices than the old.

Roosevelt's roll back subsidy plan has proven to be a colossal fraud. Only the escalator clause: the rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living, can provide the workers with some degree of protection against war-inflation.

Giant Permanent Army Is Planned

Wall St. Wants Force To Police The World

The House Military Committee plans to open hearings this week on legislation providing for the establishment of a 5,000,000 man peacetime army. A bill calling for compulsory military or naval training for all males upon reaching the age of 17 has already been introduced by Representative May of Kentucky, chairman of the committee. His bill provides that after completion of one year's training, every man would remain in a reserve force for ten years and during this period would be compelled to take further "refresher" courses under whatever conditions the President might prescribe.

Approximately 500,000 men would be subject to this peacetime draft annually, so that the army, including its reserves, would total 5,000,000.

The May plan is the first formal presentation of military designs for the future. Over a month ago, the **New York Times** (Jan. 19) reported that the War Department had established a special post-war planning section under Brigadier Gen. William F. Tompkins and Admiral Harry E. Yarnell. At that time, estimates of the projected permanent military force for the peacetime period were from 1,000,000 to 2,000,000.

As the plans of American Big Business for world domination have grown more ambitious, the size of the peacetime army has multiplied. In order to "police the world for the next hundred years" the brass hats want to keep the nation permanently militarized. This is the real prospect the capitalist rulers envisage for the American people.

Biddle Cites Minneapolis Case To Bolster Deportation Proceedings Against Bridges

Government's Action Demonstrates Imprisonment of Trotskyists Is Designed To Lay Basis For Attack Upon Entire Labor Movement

Roosevelt's Department of Justice last week used the precedent first established against the Trotskyists in the Minneapolis case, in its deportation proceedings against Harry Bridges, president of the CIO International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union. The Justice Department's citation of the Minneapolis convictions to bolster its prosecution against Bridges was presented at hearings last week before the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco. E. G. Jennings, special assistant to Attorney-General Biddle, submitted the government's brief which specifically cites the rulings of the federal courts in the Minneapolis case as a legal warrant for applying the provisions and penalties of the Smith Act against Bridges.

This action confirms the contention of The Militant that the government's frameup and imprisonment of the 18 Trotskyist and Local 544-CIO leaders under the Smith "Omnibus Gag" Act is a loaded pistol aimed squarely at the whole labor movement.

REACTIONARY CONSPIRACY

The Minneapolis prosecution of the Trotskyists was initiated by Roosevelt and his Attorney-General Biddle in July 1941 on the eve of American entry into the second world war. This prosecution was an integral part of Wall Street's program to hogtie the unions, rob the American people of their rights and regiment the entire nation under the pretext of wartime necessity.

The capitalist ruling class, through its agents in Washington, prepared in advance to take advantage of the war by building up a body of legislation designed to bolster their reactionary conspiracy against labor and civil rights. The Smith "Gag" Act passed in 1940 was the first of such repressive laws enacted by an obliging Congress and signed by Roosevelt over the protests of labor and civil liberties organizations.

ILLUSION SHATTERED

When the Trotskyists were indicted and tried in the fall of 1941, many labor and liberal leaders were blind to the far-reaching aims of the government prosecution. Anxious to paint the administration as a "friend of labor and civil liberties," they did not heed our warning that the impending blow was aimed directly at the organizations of labor and the democratic rights of the people. They preferred to foster the illusion that the Smith "Gag" Law which was so obviously a violation of the Bill of Rights would be found unconstitutional by Roosevelt's "liberal" Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court shattered that illusion when, in an unprecedented decision, the justices refused to even review the case which involved a violation of the first amendment to the constitution — the section which ostensibly guarantees the rights of freedom of speech and of the press! The 18 are now serving their twelve to sixteen month sentences in Roosevelt's penitentiaries and the precedent established in their case is already being used by Biddle in the Bridges deportation case.

When the Smith Act was first invoked in the Minneapolis indictments, Biddle hypocritically announced that the "prosecution is not in any sense an attack on organized labor . . . " (**St. Paul Dispatch**, June 28, 1941). But the convictions secured by the government under the Smith Act in this important test case have forged a powerful legal weapon for use by the agents of Big Business to attack and destroy the basic democratic rights of the people. It is instructive to note that the first instance in which the precedent established in the Minneapolis case was utilized by the Department of Justice is in the Bridges deportation case.

Bridges has not only tried to outdo all other labor leaders in his support of the administration's war-program and moves against the labor movement, including the proposed labor draft; he also opposed union support for the Minneapolis defendants, slandered the Trotskyists as "agents of fascism," and at a meeting of his local 1-10 in June 1942 demanded the suppression of **The Militant.**

In this, Bridges was carrying out the line of the Communist Party, which alone of all political tendencies in the labor movement openly endorsed the prosecution of the Trotskyists, declaring that the Minneapolis defendants "deserve no more support from labor and friends of national security than do the Nazis," and complaining only that the Trotskyists were being persecuted as revolutionary Marxists instead of as "agents of fascism" on the model of Stalin's Moscow frame-

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How the Government Is Using The Mpls. Case Against Bridges

The government is using the precedent of the Minneapolis case (Dunne et al v. U. S.) in its attempt to deport Bridges on the theory that the "clear and present danger" rule is no longer controlling on the issue of free speech. The following citation is from page 21 of the government's brief in the case of Bridges vs. Wixon:

"The First Amendment being inapplicable, it is unnecessary to discuss appellant's contention (Br. 136-139) that the so-called "clear and present danger" test of **Schenck v. United States**, 249 U. S. 47, should have been followed. However, in **Dunne et al v. United States**, 138 F. (2nd) 137 (C. C. A. 8) certiorari denied, November 22, 1943, which was a criminal prosecution under Section 1, 2 and 3 of the Act of June 28, 1940, the court held that Congress had made the determination of clear and present danger, and that the so-called "clear and present danger" test had no application to the individual case. Such test would therefore not have the application for which appellant contends, even were this a criminal case."

BIG LAY-OFFS RESULT FROM ARMS PRODUCTION CUT-BACKS

MINNEAPOLIS, Feb. 21 — It is reported that seven thousand workers are to be laid off at the Twin City Ordnance Plant at New Brighton in the next six weeks. The plant is the largest defense plant in the St. Paul-Minneapolis area and one of the largest small arms plants in the country. At one time the T.C.O.P. employed over 26,000 workers, but after this latest cutback only 7,000 workers will be employed there. These remaining workers will then be faced with the prospect of a total shutdown of the plant.

At the same time several of the smaller defense plants are also curtailing operations. The local Ford plant, for instance, recently discharged 700 of its workers.

Thus the majority of these discharged workers face a real unemployment problem at the same time that the bosses are howling for a labor draft to solve a mythical labor shortage. This is admitted by the capitalist press here which states frankly that the majority of the women discharged will "disappear from the labor market."

In the meantime more than 60 complaints of unfair administration of the Minnesota Compensation Act are being studied by the State Federation of Labor. Most of these charges refer to attempts by Victor Christgau, State Director of Unemployment Compensation, to force discharged defense workers to take jobs at half their former wages or to take out of town jobs regardless of their family status or the location of the job. If the workers refuse these jobs, they are denied unemployment compensation by Christgau.

NLRB Holds Elections In Big Douglas Plants

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 12—In a runoff election held on Feb. 4, the majority of the workers in the Long Beach Douglas Aircraft plant opened wide the gates to allow their chosen representative, the CIO United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, to enter and speak for them.

The vote can be considered historic inasmuch as it marked an end of the open shop in an open shop town. In size and importance the election can be compared only to the Ford election. The Long Beach election together with the election on Feb. 1 at Douglas Santa Monica is the largest in the history of the National Labor Relations Board.

On January 25, when the workers of the Long Beach Plant first went to the polls to vote for their choice of representation between the International Association of Machinists, Aeronautical Lodge No. 1578 (IAM-AFL), the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW-CIO), or no union, the workers gave the UAW-CIO a near victory by casting 46.5 per cent vote for the UAW-CIO; 33.6 per cent for No Union, and 19.9 for the IAM-AFL. Of the total eligible voters, 84.4 per cent voted.

As a result of the first ballot, the National Labor Relations Board granted a runoff election on Feb. 4 between the UAW-CIO and the IAM-AFL. The workers' decision was made in the final election by giving 58.3 per cent of their votes to the UAW and 41.7 per cent to the IAM, thereby making the United Automobile Workers their collective bargaining agent.

SANTA MONICA

At Santa Monica on Feb. 1, the workers cast their votes for the three contending groups. In this election 60.3 per cent of the workers voted for union representation; 39.7 per cent for No Union. A breakdown of the figures revealed the UAW-CIO received 34.3 per cent and the IAM-AFL 26 per cent. As in the previous election held in Long Beach a runoff election was granted. However, in this instance the runoff was held between the UAW-CIO and the Company. The result of the runoff election held on Feb. 8 gave No Union 53.3 per cent, while the UAW-CIO received 46.7 per cent.

As the figures of the election indicate, the "Mother Plant" of Douglas Aircraft at Santa Monica still remains one of the few large manufacturing companies in the country without union representation. However, considering the history and character of the opposition in the Douglas Santa Monica plant, the results of the election cannot be looked upon as a decisive defeat but rather as a step toward the eventual conquest of that plant for unionism.

Although no figures were released by either the company or union papers on the actual number of workers voting on the ground that these figures were "a military secret," the Los Angeles **Daily News** gave the following figures on those participating in the elections: At Long Beach 23,080 and at Santa Monica 21,000.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

The notorious Dies committee for the investigation of "un-American activities" has turned its reactionary attentions to the CIO Political Action Committee, which is under federal "investigation" for alleged violation of the provision of the Smith-Connally anti-strike law prohibiting the use of union funds for political purposes.

Although the CIO committee was established in order to stifle genuine independent labor political action and corral labor support for Roosevelt, the Southern poll-tax wing of Roosevelt's Democratic Party is trying to incite a legal lynching bee against it.

Sidney Hillman, chairman of the CIO committee, last week was compelled to deny a Dies committee snooper access to the records and accounts of the CIO political action group. Hillman declared, "The committee now formally informs Mr. Dies that it will refuse any demands which he may make on it for records, files, documents or materials."

Big Business and its political agents, like Martin Dies, are determined to smash any movement which even has potentialities of independent labor politics.

* * *

United Automobile Workers-CIO President R. J. Thomas and AFL Secretary-Treasurer George Meany, labor representatives on Roosevelt's Cost of Living Committee, have sent their independent report on rising living costs to Roosevelt with a demand for an investigation of the Bureau of Labor Statistics for publishing a cost-of-living index "which distorts the basic facts of our wartime living costs."

Thomas and Meany, in justifying the issuance of their independent report, further charged that the two industry and one government member of the President's committee failed "to have made any investigation since Nov. 5 or to have assembled any comprehensive data pursuant to your instructions," and that "nothing further can be expected of this committee for some months to come."

The report of Thomas and Meany proves that living costs have advanced at least 43.5 per cent since Jan. 1, 1941, instead of the fake figure of 23.4 per cent put out by the BLS. The Thomas-Meany statement makes clear that the BLS index was made public "with full understanding" of its falsity, and indicates that these lying figures were intended to establish another pretext for refusing wage increases above the Little Steel formula.

* * *

CIO President Philip Murray, head of the United Steel Workers, charged before the WLB hearings on the union's demands for a 17-cents an hour increase and 21 other concessions that the major steel corporations had contemptuously refused to bargain collectively before the case was tossed into the lap of the WLB.

"The companies made it perfectly clear that their answer was 'no' from start to finish. There was no counter proposal offered on any of the basic issues that involved a single penny of cost to the companies. . . At the outset they were determined that they were going to bring all these issues before the Natl. War Labor Board and dump the entire problem before this Board."

Murray's complaint points up the fact that the employers fully understand the role of the WLB as a government grave-digger for the workers' demands. It also underscores the treachery of union leaders like Murray who continue to support the Board and insist that the workers place dependence on such employer-dominated government agencies.

* * *

The WLB is stepping up its campaign of retaliation against militant unionists and union locals which are forced to strike to defend their rights and conditions. A Regional War Labor Board in Philadelphia on Feb. 13 announced it was invoking penalties against Local 1,717 of the AFL International Association of Machinists because of a two-day strike last November at the Yale & Towne Manufacturing Co.

The Board gave only a "limited," instead of a full, maintenance of membership clause to the local and denied "top seniority privileges which apparently would have been granted otherwise to union officers and committeemen." The latter precedent is especially dangerous to unions, because it would provide the employers with another means to fire militant union leaders "legitimately."

* * *

Clayton W. Fountain, columnist for the **Toledo Union Journal**, organ of Local 12, UAW-CIO, speaks up in hard-hitting fashion against "atrocities everywhere," in the Feb. 18 issue.

"Let us denounce all atrocities everywhere," he declares. "Thousands are dying in India of starvation. . . Negroes are lynched in the southern states of America. . . Political prisoners are starved, tortured and shot before breakfast in Fascist Spain. . . Tin miners in Bolivia labor in virtual slavery. . . The share-croppers of the American south never get enough to eat. . . Looking backward, let us remember the atrocities at South Chicago in 1937, when ten workers were murdered by the bullets of the police. . . What about the honest but jobless Americans who fished in garbage cans for their meals during the great depression. Were they not the victims of a most degrading atrocity? . . .

"Let us hate beastliness in Japan, India, Bolivia, Spain, America and in all places where men are starved, tortured, maimed and debased at the whim of other men. Fascism and imperialism, which breed beastliness and atrocities, are diseases caused by the germs of greed and selfishness. And these germs do not always have slanting eyes. In fact, some of the little demons speak with a Park Avenue accent."

Unprincipled Faction Fight In The N. Y. American Labor Party

The American Labor Party was organized in 1936 as part of the CIO campaign under the leadership of John L. Lewis to corral the labor vote for Roosevelt. Nationally, this was accomplished through the instrumentality of Labor's Non-Partisan League. New York however presented a unique problem to the labor bureaucrats. For many years New York State and especially New York City had a sizeable number of advanced workers who voted the Socialist ticket. The labor bureaucrats found it necessary to organize a separate party in order to channelize the traditional left-wing vote behind Roosevelt. The workers, believing that the ALP represented the first step in the formation of a powerful independent party of labor based on the unions, eagerly supported the movement and cast their votes for Rosevelt under the ALP label.

Since its formation the ALP has been dominated in its various sections by two reactionary cliques, the Dubinsky-Social-Democratic and the Stalinist factions. Both factions have unmistakeably demonstrated that they are not proponents of genuine independent labor politics, but its deadly foes. For eight years, these two gangs each in their own way, have converted the ALP into a despicable appendage of the capitalist parties. Under their leadership the ALP has never had a chance to become a genuine labor party; it has been a miserable caricature of one.

FACTIONAL FOOTBALL

The ALP is now again torn by a factional struggle between these two bureaucratic factions; a struggle that either covertly or openly has been carried on almost from the inception of the ALP and especially since 1939. At the present juncture, Sidney Hillman, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and head of the CIO Political Action Committee, has formed a bloc with the Stalinist forces. This bloc proposes that the ALP be reorganized on a trade union basis, with party control turned over to the union representatives, who will have voting power in the State Committee commensurate with their per capita payments to the party.

Advanced workers favor the organization of a labor party on a trade union basis. It is the proper structure for a labor party organization and provides it with the most favorable labor foundation. **Class concious workers, however, can give absolutely no support to the Hillman-Stalinist bloc in the present internal faction fight in the ALP. Neither Hillman nor the Stalinists are proponents of independent labor politics. Hillman, a servile labor bureaucrat of the worst type, is interested in organizing the labor vote, through the CIO Political Action Committee, in order to hand it over to Roosevelt. He is one of the most virulent opponents of an independent labor party and has worked to crush every manifestation of independent labor action.**

In their all-out effort to make themselves acceptable to Wall Street, the Stalinists are trying to outdo Hillman in servility to Roosevelt and to the capitalist politicans of both old-line parties. The Hillman-Stalinist bloc aims to seize control of the ALP, not to broaden its basis, not to remake it into an instrument of independent labor politics, but merely to herd the workingmen into the Roosevelt pen in 1944 and afterwards to jettison the party.

As for the Dubinsky-Social-Democratic gang, they are engaged in the coming primary fight in a last ditch effort to maintain their control of the State Committee. Since 1936 they have monopolized control only by the most arbitrary bureaucratic manipulations and exclusions. As they themselves are nothing but labor lackeys of the Roosevelt administration and opponents of a genuine independent labor party and its program, they could not fight the Stalinists on the basis of program and principles. Their practical political program is identical with that of the Stalinists. That is why they can and have fought Stalinism only by red-baiting organizational manuevers and bureaucratic manipulations.

The Dubinsky-Social-Democratic gang are not more progressive than the Stalinists. They are simply a different kind of treacherous bureaucracy, resting on a different foundation and with a different origin. Under their eight-year leadership, the ALP has been employed as a cheap bargaining agency, to be sold out for a few miserable jobs now to Tammany Hall, now to the Republican Party. The Dubinsky Social-Democrats have disgraced the whole cause of independent labor political action.

Some class conscious workers may reply to our analysis: this is correct. The Dubinsky-Social-Democratic clique is reactionary through and through. But at the present time the Hillman-Stalinist crew is out to dissolve the labor party, while the Social-Democrats will preserve the ALP, even if only as an instrument for bargaining purposes. Therefore we should support the Dubinsky faction as a "lesser evil." This is false reasoning. It is impossible to support the Social-Democratic gang even as a conservative proponent of independent labor politics. As they have demonstrated by their actions, they are not even conservative proponents of a labor party; they merely exploit the labor party sentiment of the rank and file in order to sell the labor vote to the capitalist parties and politicians.

The Socialist Workers Party gave critical support to Dean Alfange when he ran for Governor of New York State in 1942 as the ALP candidate, despite the fact that his program was a reactionary one. Alfange was an independent candidate of the ALP, running in 1942 in opposition to the candidates of the capitalist parties. A vote for Alfange was a blow at capitalist politics, and served to rally the working class behind the idea of independent labor politics and an independent labor party.

THE REAL SITUATION

A very different question is at issue in the present situation. What is involved is not an independent labor party candidate running for office against capitalist candidates but an inner-party faction fight over which clique shall control the ALP. The preference for one faction against the other can only be justified on grounds of differences in program. No such programmatic grounds of preference exist. No progressive purpose will be served by the victory of one clique over the other.

What, then, are the class conscious workers to do? They have the task of laying a foundation for the reorganization of the ALP into a genuine labor party, standing on its own feet, independent of capitalist parties and politicians, democratically run and controlled by the rank and file, and propagating its own independent labor program. This can be achieved not by backing one bureaucratic clique against the other, but by solid educational and organizational ground work in the trade union locals and the ALP clubs.

Such educational and organizational effort will not produce miraculous results overnight; it may not provide artificial thrills of playing "high politics." In recompense, the class-conscious militants will have the assurance that they are laying the necessary foundation for the building of a real labor party in New York.

In Defense Of Capitalism

When Vice-President Wallace recently took a mild slap at "Wall Street stooges" the outraged Daily Worker, **Feb. 16, leaped to the defense of its plutocrat idols:**

"Vice-President Wallace, unfortunately, doesn't help the struggle against these anti-Teheran elements by his general attack on Wall Sfr. The widest kind of national unity is necessary to defeat them, including 'clear-headed' businessmen from Wall Street."

Earl Browder isn't fooling when he says he is ready to shake the hands of J. P. Morgan.

Conviction Of 18 Cited In Harry Bridges Case

(Continued from page 1)

ups. (Daily Worker, Aug. 16, 1941).

STALINIST POLICY

This is not the first time that the treacherous policies pursued by the servants of the degenerate Kremlin clique have recoiled on their own heads. In Germany, Austria, Spain and France the policies of the Stalinists ultimately resulted not only in the destruction of democracy and the annihilation of organized labor by capitalist reaction but in the wrecking of their own organizations and the persecution of their own ranks.

Whether or not the administration goes through to the end with its deportation proceedings, which have been going on for years, its present action in the Bridges case is a threat addressed to the union leaders themselves. The government has demonstrated that it is prepared to use the Smith Act and similar repressive legislation against any and all unionists. No matter how meekly a union leader crawls before Roosevelt and bows before Big Business, this legislation hangs like a sword over his head. This was clearly revealed when the poll-tax Democrat from Virginia, Howard W. Smith, author of the Smith "Gag" Law and co-author of the Smith-Connally anti-strike bill, recently demanded that Biddle indict Phillip Murray, Sidney Hillman and other leaders of the CIO for an alleged violation of a section of the latter bill.

Roosevelt and Big Business are plunging so recklessly toward naked reaction that they can no longer rely upon the union bureaucracy to do their bidding from mere conviction. The administration requires methods of direct threat and coercion as an added means of "persuasion." The Minneapolis frameup is part and parcel of this present anti-labor drive, its wage freeze and price gouge, its vicious incitation of the soldiers against the workers, its job freeze and Roosevelt's demand for forced labor.

A WARNING TO ALL

The Minneapolis case provided the first serious warning; the use of the precedent in the Bridges case is another. They tell every union leader, every militant worker, every person who might dare to express an opinion contrary to the will of the administration and the ruling capitalists: "THE LEGAL NOOSE OF THE SMITH ACT HANGS OVER YOUR HEAD TOO!"

The 18 Socialist and union

HARRY BRIDGES

leaders in Roosevelt's jails have already received wide support from the ranks of labor. Over 140 unions and local central bodies, particularly among the most progressive of the CIO organizations, have contributed to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, which is directing the campaign for their freedom. But this union support has come largely from the ranks and secondary leadership where the feelings of class and union solidarity are strongest.

The top leadership of the labor movement has up to now remained for the most part indifferent or given but token support to the Minneapolis case, as though it were merely a private affair between the government and the Trotskyists. The government's latest action in the Bridges case demonstrated this to be nothing short of bureaucratic blindness.

LABOR MUST FIGHT

In the immediate period ahead, as the labor movement strives to regain its freedom of action and opposes more sharply Roosevelt's anti-labor repressive policies, the administration will attempt to use against the unions and their leaders ever more harsh retaliatory measures. Past services of the labor leaders will be ignored. The political agents of Big Business will lash out mercilessly and indiscriminately in their frantic efforts to keep labor subjugated to the war machine.

Among the most dangerous weapons which the administration now has in its hands is the Smith "Gag" Act. The edge of that weapon has been sharpened razor-keen by its enforcement first in the Minneapolis case and now in the Bridges case. With it the administration plans to slash ever more furiously at labor's rights and at the civil liberties of the entire American people. Only the most vigorous resistance by an aroused labor movement, supported by all progressive tendencies, can repel this attack and wipe the Smith "Gag" Law off the Statute books.

The self-preservation of organized labor, of its fundamental liberties and rights demands that every unionist and union leader rally behind the Civil Rights Defense Committee in its national campaign to free the 18 class-war victims of the Smith "Gag" Act.

STALINISTS LOSE OUT IN ILGWU ELECTIONS

NEW YORK—After a bitter and mutually dirty elections campaign, the Dubinsky-Antonini-Zimmerman leadership of the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union last week administered an overwhelming defeat to the "Rank and File" Stalinist slates in the vote for officers of the three largest ILGWU locals and for delegates to the union's forthcoming national convention.

Despite being in the favorable position of an opposition to a bureaucratic machine which has failed in every way to defend the interests of the membership, the Stalinist clique did not win a single post of the hundreds that were contested. In fact, the Stalinist bloc registered a sharp decline from its relative strength in the last elections.

Local 89, an Italian local with 37,000 members and the largest in the ILGWU, gave the Stalinist candidate for general manager, Rabaudo, only 467 votes compared to 17,805 for Luigi Antonini, the incumbent. Local 62, with a membership of 14,990 undergarment workers, gave the Stalinist ticket only 464 votes against 9,850 for the Dubinsky gang. In Local 22, composed of 22,000 dressmakers, where the Stalinists have always maintained a powerful bloc, their vote declined from 38 per cent of the total cast in 1940 to but 21 per cent in this year's election.

CLIQUE FIGHT

Neither clique advanced a program to improve the workers' conditions or fight for their immediate interests. The campaign centered entirely around international political issues, primarily the foreign policy of Stalinism. Both sides vied to outdo each other in protestations of patriotism and loyalty to Roosevelt's war program. They differed exclusively on the issue of loyalty to the Kremlin's policies, which the Stalinists raised as their chief complaint against the anti-Stalinist Dubinsky leadership.

The Stalinists counted on the Red Army victories to play a decisive role in their favor, believing these victories have materially raised Stalin's prestige. Their loss of support can only be interpreted as an actual marked decrease in Stalinist sentiments among the politically-conscious New York garment workers. Some of this is undoubtedly due to the capitulation to Wall Street and renegacy from socialism recently proclaimed openly by the Communist Party.

To sum up, Dubinsky succeeded in driving less workers into the arms of the Stalinists, than the Stalinists drove back into the arms of Dubinsky.

SWP Anniversary Fund Drive Goes Over The $17,000 Mark

By R. Karsner, Director

Although February 15th was the official closing date of the Socialist Workers Party's Fifteenth Anniversary — $15,000 Fund Campaign, the campaign refuses to close. Money keeps coming in.

$17,200 is the total up to February 21.

From the field come such letters as these:

Seattle, Ruth: "We sent in the balance of our quota and expect another hundred or so." This branch merits special mention because it carried on in spite of great local difficulties. First the organizer had to be rushed to the hospital with a ruptured appendix. Next two of their leading members suffered serious injuries on the job and became incapacitated. But the rest of the members pitched that much harder, as Bolsheviks always do in such a situation.

Los Angeles, Dan Roberts: "Although we have exceeded our quota, we are not through. There are still outstanding pledges and we mean to collect them. South Gate, our newest and youngest branch, collected every penny its members pledged." And, I take it, Roberts means to see that he "collects every penny" from the others.

New York, Reba: "We have oversubscribed our quota, but we are still collecting outstanding pledges."

Kay of Detroit writes very aptly: "We think the party as a whole is to be congratulated for the successful conclusion of the Fifteenth Anniversary Fund Campaign. It is the first such drive that I can remember where we reached 100% within the allotted time limit, not to mention exceeding our goal. It seems like a good omen for the future, doesn't it?"

Yes, indeed! We remember that in the last fund campaign we conducted, twelve branches were under 100% on the closing date. That was in February 1939.

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LOS ANGELES, CAL.

The following report from our Newark agent shows good results obtained in door-to-door work:

"As a result of the long working hours of the branch membership in additon to union and other party activity, the Newark branch has found itself confronted with the problem of a minimum force with which to carry on its **Militant** activity. A solution to this problem has been worked out along the following lines. A housing project was selected as the first center of distribution. Two comrades were assigned to a weekly distribution of the paper, covering the same section regularly for a period of five weeks. The fifth distribution included a letter informing those receiving the paper that a **Militant** salesman would visit them the following Sunday for a sub. **The entire branch was then mobilized for a Red Sunday. Broken up into squads the branch proceeded to a systematic canvassing of the section covered. Two such mobilizations have netted twelve subs."**

* * *

Our San Francisco agent also reports good results from Red Sunday work:

"Enclosed are seven six-month subs to **The Militant**, resulting from our house-to-house work. The new subs which we get are in the main derived from our visiting people to whom we have been sending the paper (complimentary) from this office.

"Due to the pressure of other work, we have again divided the branch into two teams, going out on alternate Sunday mornings. This is the reason you are only getting seven subs this week.... but there will be a steady flow of them anyhow."

* * *

Consistency in distributions of **The Militant** by our New Haven agent is netting excellent results:

"The enclosed sub is one of the results of our regular campaign in the Negro district. **In addition last night I sold eleven copies of 'The Struggle for Negro Equality' and I was well received by those who bought 'The Negro in the Post-War World' last week. One young woman referred to me as 'the paper man.' That's how much I am now awaited on Friday night."**

* * *

A letter from our Boston agent reports interest in **The Militant** at a Stalinist meeting:

"Sunday night at Browder's meeting we distributed 400 papers. One out of five is at least indication that the audience was not composed completely of the old Stalinists; and the new group seems interested enough at least to want to read our paper, which we observed them doing."

San Francisco School of Social Science

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Defense Plans To Appeal Lynn Case

NEW YORK, Feb. 3. — The National Citizens' Committee for Winfred Lynn today announced its determination to carry to the United States Supreme Court its fight to eliminate Jim Crow practices by the nation's draft boards.

Winfred Lynn, who is now a corporal in a West Coast camp, brought suit a year and a half ago when he was inducted into the army. He was drafted in a Jim-Crow quota in direct violation of the 1940 Selective Service Act, which states: ". . . there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color."

When the New York Federal Circuit Court of Appeals by its 2-to-1 decision on February 3 ruled against Lynn, the judges threw out the minor technicalities raised by government lawyers and openly upheld the army's practice of segregation. The case will now go to the U.S. Supreme Court as a clear-cut issue charging that segregation does constitute discrimination, and therefore violates the Selective Service law.

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The Negro Struggle

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

By Charles Jackson

The Navy Policy

"Navy 'Opens Door' to Negro Officers". . . "Navy Forced At Last to Change Policy." Such were the headlines flashed from the front pages of the Negro Press on Feb. 5, 1944 after the Navy announced that 16 Negroes would be allowed to train for commissions.

In our elation over this "victory", however, let us not close our eyes, (if we must close our noses), to the nauseous fact that the Jim-Crow system pervades the Navy just the same as before. In Great Lakes, Ill. where over 100,000 Negroes have been trained, the drill grounds, commando courses, barracks, mess halls and recreation centers will still be separate "but equal." The graduating Negro ensigns will be allowed to command small escort boats with all-Negro personnel.

There can be no more despicable smirch on a group of people than to be segregated solely on the basis of skin-deep characteristics and thereby branded, inferentially if not openly, as innately inferior. Individual "advancements" gained within the confines of this slanderous corral give the false impression that the entire group accepts this designation of inferiority. Moreover, in this case the natural desire of these men to gain and retain such positions of prestige may lure them into the role of "Uncle Toms."

On some momentous future occasions they may act in the interests of the prejudiced top officers and, consciously or unconsciously, against the interests of the militant, segregated Negro sailors from whose ranks they rose. A nasty thought, perhaps, but need we remind ourselves that such has happened before? **By "opening the door" under segregation the Navy has really driven another nail in the already closed door of our little house behind the big house. Instead of being "forced at last to change the policy", they have reenforced the same policy.**

PAST EXPERIENCE

These reactionary deeds of the Navy brass hats were not begun only yesterday. The first backward step was taken in 1922 when Negroes were formally barred from enlisting in any capacity. In 1938, however, it was loudly trumpeted that the Navy had "opened the door" to Negro enlistment—(compare with similar shouts of triumph today). It did not take a lifetime for the truth to be exposed. The real condition was made public when 15 disillusioned but courageous messmen on the U. S. S. Philadelphia wrote a letter of protest to the **Pittsburgh Courier**, a leading Negro weekly whose publisher had led the 1938 fight to "open the door."

This letter which appeared in the Oct. 5, 1940 issue said: "On enlisting we were given to believe we had the privilege to choose any branch of service the Navy offers. This is not true." They were trained three months "in making beds, shining shoes and serving officers" and then sent to perform such work aboard ship. They became "sea-going bell-hops, chambermaids and dishwashers." All had high school and some had college training. Of the 18 messmen during nine months duty "nine were given solitary confinement on bread and water."

After this letter was published the signers were thrown in the brig. They have since been given dishonorable discharges and thereby denied citizenship privileges. That is the answer of the Naval representatives of this capitalist "democracy" to an honest appeal for equality of opportunity.

Three Negro sailors on the U. S. S. Sampson in a public letter of Nov. 9, 1940 wrote: "The majority of the officers seem to think that we Negroes are just a race of illiterates who have to have someone standing over us with a whip telling us what to do." No record of their present fate could be found by the writer.

SEGREGATION REMAINS

In June, 1942 the Navy again "conceded to pressure and changed their policy" by announcing that thereafter Negroes would be trained for combat duty in large numbers. This served once again to hold down mounting unrest which they feared might assume practical proportions. But this has been detrimental rather than beneficial because it meant large new training camps where the Negroes have been separated from the whites in every field of activity except occasionally in the hospitals. **Thus thousands of young, previously liberal-minded Northern-raised white sailors have been miseducated to believe that the Negro is unfit to associate with other members of the human race. The false doctrine of racial superiority is today being propagated by the official policy of the U. S. Navy.**

The devious methods these brass hats will use in squelching any voice of criticism was seen in the Keemer case in Detroit. This Negro physician volunteered as a Naval medical officer Sept. 17, 1942. He passed all requirements, (including the physical), for Lieutenant (jg), only to be told that doctors of his race were neither needed nor wanted. Dr. Keemer protested to Secretary of Navy Knox and President Roosevelt but received no answer—except an order to report for induction (May '43), as a private in the infantry! This he refused to do. He was later arrested as a draft evader although the Navy medical corps had first "evaded" accepting him admittedly on the basis of color alone. Because Negro morale was already low they were forced to dismiss the case in December but the problem would not have been solved as long as the obnoxious conditions in the Navy remain as they are.

In heralding these promotions of Negroes in the Navy let us not forget that they fail to touch the real issue—the pattern of segregation. Past experience leads us to believe that this basic evil cannot be wiped out under the present system of capitalist oppression and exploitation.

Leon Sedov - Inspiring Model For The Revolutionary Youth

By S. R.

When I knew Leon Sedov, Trotsky's son, he lived in a suburban district of Paris, where poor workers' dwellings are interspersed with small stucco cottages with perhaps a back yard, chicken coop or vegetable patch.

Leon Sedov lived in a gray, unpainted structure of a peculiar shape: like a huge barrel, with a couple of grinning cupids adorning the shabby entrance. Only later did I learn that this building had housed a wine exhibit during the Paris World Exposition of 1903 and was expressly made to look like a vat; the cupids originally represented happy bacchuses.

SEDOV'S HOME

The building was not meant for living quarters but some enterprising Frenchman eventually turned it into "studios." The studio which Leon Sedov occupied with his wife consisted of one fairly large room shaped like a pentagon. The front wall was one huge window from floor to ceiling. A small wooden balcony ran along the opposite wall. No bath, no toilet, no kitchen in the apartment. Behind a small partition a gasoline-burner served for cooking purposes, and cold water was drawn from a faucet; there was no sink or wash basin. The toilet was in the hall and served the entire floor. A smell of stale cooking clung to the house, there were large cracks in the unpainted floor, the stairs creaked and rats ran underfoot unafraid.

During my short stay with the Sedov's I slept on a cot in the open "gallery," while the couple used a double couch underneath. A large table, a couple of hard chairs, a bookcase and a trunk completed the furnishings. It was late autumn and the frame dwelling cooled so rapidly during the night that from early morning till about midday we wore our overcoats indoors. It was "too early" in the season to start the coal stove going.

Here Leon Sedov lived and worked. He did the research work, gathered material, made excepts, sought out data for his father, who was deprived of freedom of motion by the strict incognito imposed by the conditions of exile. For the Old Man, Leon was a sort of alter ego, that part of himself which was free to move about, see people, talk with friends. Leon saw the necessary contacts, met friends and comrades from different countries, he absorbed first-hand political impressions of friends and foes alike and transmitted them to the Old Man. Voluntarily Leon Sedov circumscribed his life to the higher demands of the movement by serving the heart and brains of the revolution itself — his father. His time and energies, his very mode of life were bent to this one purpose.

More than anyone else, perhaps even more keenly than L. D. himself, Leon knew in what danger his father and those near him stood from the hands of Stalin's assassins. He knew the dangers he ran himself and while he took infinite precautions to shelter his comrades and contacts, he never missed an appointment or an assignment out of fear for himself.

Living away from the center, having no phone and not daring to use a private phone even if he could have had one, Leon Sedov lived in prewar, "democratic" Paris like the oldtime Russian revolutionists hunted by the Czarist police — only this time the revolutionists were hunted by infinitely more astute agents of the GPU, many of whom came from the circles of the old Czarist officers. Leon Sedov never made a telephone call from the same booth twice. Appointments were arranged at different hours in different cafes, buses and subways were changed several times en route to an appointment to throw off any one who might be following. This was nervewracking, time-consuming work. Only a man so completely devoted to the revolution could live such an existence for years on end, sacrificing his entire young life and happiness to it.

At the time many of the precautions taken by Sedov to ouwit GPU spies seemed exaggerated and uncalled for. Only later, some years later, did we really understand how correct Leon was, how truly he estimated the complete degeneration of the Stalinist regime and the nature of the enemy.

Only the alertness, keen intelligence, infinite patience and courage displayed by Sedov in all his dealings with comrades and contacts saved so many of them from GPU vengeance. And the fact that it took the GPU years to "get" Sedov; that with all their huge apparatus, with the infinite money at their command and the cooperation and connivance of the French police (remember the obligations under the Stalin-Laval pact!) they finally succeeded in poisoning him when he lay helpless on a hospital bed after a serious operation, — this alone testifies to the stuff Leon was made of.

FATHER AND SON

While all of us mourned the loss of a sterling comrade, whose ability and outstanding qualities could not be wholly hidden by the dangerous and difficult task which he took upon himself, only very few understood that in Leon the Old Man himself had the best protector and that in murdering Sedov the GPU came a long way on the road to accomplishing that other dastardly deed — the assassination of Leon Trotsky in Coyoacan.

When humanity looks back at this bloody era, when the figure of the great genius-hero, Leon Trotsky, will stand emblazoned in all its grandeur, it will not forget his son, the true son of his father. In the blackest years of reaction he fought untiringly, indomitably for the revolution by fighting for the very life of the one who symbolized it best. Our humble love and homage goes out to him. He truly belongs among the Communards at Père la Chaise where he was buried under the banner of the Fourth International.

Leon Sedov, 1906-1938

Political Background Of Current Argentine Crisis

By A. Roland

No other country in South America has had as turbulent a history as Argentina. The sharp conflicts of class interests, first of all between the port merchants of Buenos Aires and the landowners of the interior, later translated into antagonism between the rising native industrialists and these same big landowners, have kept Argentine society in constant turmoil. That society resembles a volcano, constantly agitated and ready to erupt. The rift in the ranks of the bourgeoisie remains and grows wider while a modern proletariat has already come on the scene, conscious of its own interests but not yet united around its own independent program.

The present government of Argentina is based, theoretically, on a constitution closely modelled after that of the United States. The first 35 articles of this constitution are devoted to the Bill of Rights. But in actual practice, despite the existence of elements of political democracy, the government is a thinly disguised dictatorship of the wealthy estancieros and the big merchants. Up to the first World War, this dictatorship was exercised through a loosely organized Conservative Party, supported by the military forces.

An opposition movement had been organized as early as 1890 to further the interests of the city industrialists allied with the petty bourgeoisie. But the party in power always continued its rule through force and fraud. Each President chose his successor who was inevitably elected. If the President found the opposition too strong in one province or another, thereby threatening to oust the "ins" in an election, the democratic "guarantees" were set aside by presidential intervention in the provinces. Then too the dictator could send his opponents to an Argentine Siberia, to the prison town of Ushuafa at the bleak tip of Tierra del Fuego.

PALACE REVOLUTIONS

Naturally under a dictatorship in which voting meant nothing (although voting is supposed to be compulsory!) the only recourse of a determined opposition is to direct action or revolution. Palace revolutions have occurred frequently for this reason. However the first oppositionist was elected President in 1913, when Irigoyen was placed in power by the Radical Civic Union. This party had the support of the masses, particularly the petty bourgeois masses. Many workers also pinned their hopes on Irigoyen for a spread of democracy and an easing of their lot.

But they were quickly disillusioned. The first World War brought dislocation to Argentine economy and unemployment. Strikes took place, culminating in the general strike of 1919. This was bloodily suppressed. The middle class Radical leaders showed that in fundamentals they followed the lead of the big bourgeoisie.

The Argentine workers received another object lesson during the world crisis of 1929. Argentina, as a producer of raw materials for a world market which was completely out of joint, was hit with terrific force. It suffered the greatest unemployment in its history, government figures showing nearly 400,000 workers out of work. Irigoyen, again in power, did nothing to ease the situation. In the elections of 1930 the Radicals suffered defeat. Thereupon Irigoyen tried to void the elections and prevent the new deputies from taking their seats. Bloody riots followed, in the course of which the conservatives, taking advantage of the situation, resorted to the military overthrow of Irigoyen. When General Uriburu became dictator he thought it safe to hold elections, since he calculated that the masses, having turned against Irigoyen, could only support the Conservatives, now called the National Democrats.

POLITICAL SHIFTS

But the word had passed among the masses: "The conservatives are back!" Had there been a strong proletarian party, the workers would have turned to it. Instead, they defeated Uriburu at the polls, re-electing Radicals. Uriburu simply set aside the elections and ordered new ones, this time making certain his candidates would be placed in office. The Radicals boycotted the elections and the candidate of a coalition of National Democrats and a right wing split-off of the Radicals (the Anti-Personalista Radicals) became president. This was Agustin P. Justo. The choice of Justo was approved even by the Argentine socialists! Justo remained in power up to 1938 when in the usual fashion he named his own successor, the corporation lawyer Ortiz. Ortiz was like Justo a member of the right wing Anti-Personalista Radicals who were in alliance with the National Democrats. Castillo, belonging to the latter party, was chosen vice-president.

The second World War brought a new political crisis which tended to split the coalition in power. Ortiz had been a corporation lawyer for the imperialist financiers, particularly the British interests. He wished to direct the national policy towards the democratic imperialist side of the war. Castillo, a professor of law and an arch-reactionary, was more in accord with the desires of the big landlords. Their outlook was far more in accord with that of the Nazis and fascists. But since the conservatives have never been supported by the masses, and since the middle class Radical Party represents a weak class of native industrialists who have never sat firmly in the saddle, the fascist tendency does not exist as a mass movement. The conservatives can only make use of a military coup d'etat in order to have their way.

The present reaction would like to remain isolationist at the least. Their sympathies on a world scale are also the reflection of their internal needs. For the war has helped to bring about a stalemate in the Argentine Congress in which neither large party has a majority, and in which the socialists with seventeen deputies, hold the balance of power. It is this new growth of the socialist movement that the reactionaries fear most of all.

William Green Testifies Against Forced Labor At Senate Hearings

(Continued from page 1)

of the Austin-Wadsworth bill, "complimented Mr. Green on his 'brave stand' against strikes." (N. Y. Times, Feb. 17.)

But the Generals and Admirals are rapidly losing confidence in the ability of the Greens, Murrays, and Hillmans to keep the workers frozen to their jobs, with wages frozen at existing levels, while profits soar and the cost of living rises steadily each month. They want direct domination over the workers and are acting as the spearhead in Wall Street's drive to undermine the unions and regiment the American people.

CLASS ACTION

The top leaders of the AFL and the CIO have shown ever since Pearl Harbor that they are unwilling and unable to put up any effective resistance to the increasingly ferocious attacks of Big Business upon the rights of labor. They continue to counsel the workers to depend on Roosevelt, the man who has assumed open command of the anti-labor drive. Arguments, pleas, windy and whining resolutions addressed to Roosevelt, the brass hats and other agents of Wall Street will not prevent the employers from going through with their reactionary plans. Only a bold program of independent class action can enable the workers to defend their organizations, their rights, and their gains.

Rescind the no-strike pledge! This elementary action is becoming more and more recognized as a prime necessity. Writing in the **Toledo Union Journal** on Jan. 28 the president of Local 12, UAW-CIO is forced to the conclusion that: "Labor fights without weapons. Management not only has not given up its weapon; but in effect has gained new ones in the form of a procrastinating War Labor Board and a reactionary congress." To make the list complete, the writer should have included the Roosevelt administration and the reactionary officer caste. Continued adherence to the "unconditional" no-strike pledge, as defined by the labor bureaucrats, means to completely disarm the workers in the face of determined assault upon the very existence of the unions.

For an Independent Labor Party! Every conflict today, involving the most elementary grievances, quickly becomes a political struggle. To support the Democratic or Republican parties means to support the agents of Wall Street who control those parties and use them in the interests of monopoly capitalism. **Break with company unionism in politics!** Labor must organize its own political party—an Independent Labor Party—to defend the interests of the vast majority against the profiteers and exploiters who constitute a tiny minority of the population.

Negro Leaders Ask For Unconditional Pardon Of 18

(Continued from page 1)

who have condemned the Minneapolis frameup are W. E. Burghart DuBois, noted writer and educator, Willard E. Townsend, president of the CIO United Transport Employees of America, Professor Emmett E. Dorsey, of Howard University, and Rev. A. Clayton Powell, editor of **People's Voice** and former New York City councilman.

Additional labor and liberal voices are being raised against the frameup. Bella Hurst Aaron, prominent San Francisco attorney, addressed a strong protest letter to Roosevelt, stating: "There is no doubt in my mind, as there is no doubt in the minds of other citizens of the United States that these defendants merit a pardon. . . **To muffle man is to place around his throat the rope which has been placed around the throats of the citizens of Japan and Germany. . . We cannot fight for freedom on one hand and destroy it on the other by the destruction of one of its fundamental principles — the principle of free speech."**

The Metal & Machinery Workers Industrial Union No. 440 of the IWW, Cleveland, Ohio, has sent a protest resolution to Roosevelt calling for the freeing of the 18.

This week James T. Farrell, noted author and Chairman of the CRDC, issued a general appeal to the labor movement to rally behind the CRDC campaign to win the freedom of the 18 and fight for repeal of the anti-democratic Smith "Gag" Act. The CRDC, Farrell points out, is in urgent need of funds to conduct its campaign and provide relief for the 18 prisoners and their wives and children. All contributions should be sent to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

Brass Hats Tighten Up News Censorship

American military authorities, in conjunction with the State Department, are furthering an attack on press freedom by imposing an arbitrary censorship on dispatches from the war fronts, according to charges recently made by correspondents of leading American newspapers.

Just as they previously suppressed the news of General Patton's attack on a sick private, the army authorities have adopted restrictive censorship regulations at the Anzio beachhead which are not warranted by "military necessity," and which, foreign correspondents claim, can be used in suppressing news of vital political significance.

These new regulations mean, according to J. P. Lewis, editor of PM, that "Army officers now will be able to impose on American newspaper readers a censorship comparable to that used by our fascist enemies, Germany and Japan." (PM, Feb. 17).

Lewis charges that there is "censorship of military operations for reasons of policy," and cites the evidence of Donald Coe, United Press correspondent, that his story was distorted by censorship to cover up angles which were unfavorable to the Allied side.

At the same time, American correspondents in London assert that their reports to American papers are being more rigidly censored by British authorities as the result of a U. S. State Department complaint of "leakages" through the already strict British censorship. Among the "leakages" cited were reports of British labor and liberal criticism of the American government's support of Darlan!

Following the State Department's representations, the British government obligingly installed two "able diplomats," Sir Reginald Hoare and Sir Robert Hodgson, as British Foreign Office advisors on censorship. According to PM, Feb. 20, in performance of their diplomatic task of suppressing news from England that the State Department didn't like, "during the first fortnight they . . . carried caution to the extremes."

In this fashion the British authorities can obligingly take formal responsibility for suppression and censorship desired by the American authorities. It is unlikely that American public opinion will greatly concern the British Ministry of Information. It can more safely assume formal responsibility for sharp restriction of "military" news, such as the information about the British workers' disapproval of Jim-Crow policies in the American army.

PIONEER PARAGRAPHS

THE HISTORICAL CONDITIONS GIVING RISE TO STALINISM

Neither Stalin nor I find ourselves in our present positions by accident. But we did not create these positions. Each of us is drawn into his drama as the representative of definite ideas and principles. In their turn, the ideas and principles do not fall from the sky, but have profound social roots. That is why one must take, not the psychological abstraction of Stalin as a "man", but his concrete, historical personality as leader of the Soviet bureaucracy. **One can understand the acts of Stalin only by starting from the conditions of existence of the new privileged stratum, greedy for power, greedy for material comforts, apprehensive for its positions, fearing the masses, and mortally hating all opposition.**

The position of a privileged bureaucracy in a society which that bureaucracy itself calls Socialist is not only contradictory, but also false. The more precipitate the jump from the October overturn — which laid bare all social falsehood — to the present situation, in which a caste of upstarts is forced to cover up its social ulcers, the cruder the Thermidorian lies. It is consequently, a question not simply of the individual depravity of this or that person, but of the corruption lodged in the position of a whole social group for whom lying has become a vital political necessity. In the struggle for its newly gained positions, this caste has reeducated itself and simultaneously reeducated — or rather demoralized — its leaders. It raised upon its shoulders the man who best, most resolutely and most ruthlessly expresses its interests. Thus Stalin, who was once a revolutionist, became the leader of the Thermidorean caste.

The formulas of Marxism, expressing the interests of the masses, more and more inconvenienced the bureaucracy, in so far as they were inevitably directed against its interests. From the time that I entered into opposition to the bureaucracy, its courtier-theoreticians began to call the revolutionary essence of Marxism — **"Trotskyism."** At the same time, the official conception of **Leninism** changed from year to year, becoming more and more adapted to the needs of the ruling caste.

(From "The Case of Leon Trotsky," page 581. Cloth, $3; paper $1; Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.)

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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. **Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.**
2. **Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.**
3. **Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.**
4. **Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.**
5. **A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.**
6. **Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.**
7. **An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.**
8. **A Workers' and Farmers' Government.**
9. **The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.**

Red Army

The 26th Anniversary of the founding of the Red Army was celebrated last week as Soviet forces were scoring major victories and rapidly clearing Soviet soil of an invading capitalist army. After an initial period of terrible defeats and retreats, the heroic Soviet troops have hurled back the military might of German imperialism and saved what remains of the revolutionary conquests of the October overthrow from immediate destruction at the hands of Hitler.

The fighting qualities, the spirit of self-sacrifice which the Red Army soldiers have displayed stem directly from the traditions forged in the fires of the Bolshevik revolution, the civil war against the capitalist counter-revolution and the defeat of interventionist attempts by 14 imperialist armies.

That tradition was founded, above all, on the bedrock of proletarian internationalism. The Red Army as conceived by Lenin and Trotsky was not a "Russian"—a nationalist—army. It was organized and led by Trotsky as a mighty weapon in defense of the international working class, the military spearhead for the world revolution against imperialism and for socialism.

Thus, in its early years the Red Army and its victories helped rouse anti-capitalist revolts throughout Europe and stirred the hopes of the oppressed everywhere. Each blow it struck served to inspire the European masses to struggle against their own ruling classes. These struggles in turn undermined the attempts at capitalist intervention against the young Soviet Republic.

Today the real traditions of the Red Army are completely abhorrent to the Kremlin clique. Stalin seeks to conceal and bury them even while he hypocritically "celebrates" the date of their origin. The *Daily Worker*, Feb. 20, slanders the Red Army with an article entitled the "Red Army's Glorious 26th Anniversary" written by an ex-Czarist officer, Sergei Kournakoff, who links the Soviet Army only with the traditions of the reactionary armies of Czarism, and boasts:

"The Red Army has fought this past year adorned with the traditional epaulletes of its predecessor—the Russian Army—and has added new and incomparable pages to the glorious Russian military history. . ."

Of the glorious military history of the October Revolution, the civil war and wars of capitalist intervention, the ex-Czarist officer breathes not a word. These traditions Stalin seeks to expunge from memory. These are the traditions he sought to obliterate when his GPU hireling assassinated Leon Trotsky, the revolutionary founder, builder and leader of the Red Army. These are the traditions Stalin befouls by reinstituting the vilest features of the Czarist officer caste system. These are the traditions which he strove to destroy through his monstrous pre-war purges of the officers' corps that deprived the Red Army of its most experienced and able leaders and contributed to the initial Red Army defeats—defeats, which have prolonged the war and caused immeasurable suffering to the Soviet and European masses.

Stalin's chauvinist policies—his efforts to depict the present struggle of the Soviet Union in terms of Russian nationalism, his attempts to revive the reactionary traditions of "Old Mother Russia," that empire called the "prison of the peoples," his support of national chauvinism in the Allied countries—have disoriented and disheartened the forces of proletarian revolution in Europe, and particularly in Germany. Had the Soviet Union and Red Army been led in the traditions of Lenin and Trotsky, the masses of Poland and the Baltic countries, the mighty German proletariat itself, would long since have risen up, struck mortal blows at Hitler's rear and linked forces with the Soviet Red Army to wipe out capitalism and its fascist agents from the face of Europe.

Instead, Stalin openly schemes with world imperialism to use detachments of the Red Army, in combination with his puppet committees and GPU machinery, to strangle the attempts of the European proletariat to overthrow their capitalist slave-masters. To do this he must violate the most deep-rooted traditions and sentiments of the Red Army soldiers and Soviet masses.

Stalin's counter-revolutionary aims are a grave danger not merely to the impending European social revolution, but to the Soviet Union itself. For the security of the Soviet Union can be ensured only by the extension of the October Revolution. But Stalin fears above all else any independent revolutionary action by the masses anywhere because that would inevitably inspire the revival of Bolshevism in the Soviet Union itself and impel the downfall of Stalin's parasitic regime.

But despite the degenerative effects of Stalinism, the Red Army still invokes in the minds of millions the memory of its original traditions and purposes. Its victories, in spite of Stalin's intentions, have already given an initial impulse to developing European revolutionary movements.

As they sweep over Europe, these proletarian revolutions will be nourished upon the very traditions of socialist internationalism and working class solidarity which Stalin has tried by every means to destroy. These revolutions will create their own Red Armies in the very spirit and image of the Red Army created by Lenin and Trotsky.

Union Democracy

Since the January 7 expulsion of 72 rubber workers by the United Rubber Workers International President, Sherman Dalrymple, the rubber union has been locked in a crucial internal struggle. The primary issue in this important controversy is union democracy.

It is not surprising that Dalrymple's wholesale expulsion of scores of militant workers without trial should arouse widespread opposition in the URWA. It is the most flagrant violation of democratic union processes in the rubber union since the days of the dictatorial control of the old AFL wheelhorse, Coleman Claherty.

The sweeping sit-down victories of 1936-37 gave birth to a powerful tradition of rank and file control in both the auto and rubber unions. Sherman Dalrymple and his supporters on the International Board have challenged this tradition and taken the plunge toward the establishment of dictatorial control over the URWA. The Goodrich and Firestone locals of the URWA have already condemned Dalrymple's mass expulsions. Other measures designed to protect the democratic rights of the membership will undoubtedly follow.

That Dalrymple's wholesale expulsions were intended as a deliberate attempt to destroy the militant core of the General Tire and Rubber Company local in Akron is shown by the fact that of the 72 workers expelled for participating in an "unauthorized" strike, three of the union members had no connection with the affair. Of these three, two were absent from the plant because of sickness and one, a Greek Orthodox Catholic, was absent because he was celebrating his Christmas holiday.

Dalrymple was obviously not concerned with the facts. His main motive was to utilize the incident as a pretext to purge the militants and intimidate the rank and file of the URWA. He chose a small local to begin with. Should he succeed in imposing his dictatorship upon the General local, the rubber corporations will strive to provoke similar incidents in Firestone and Goodrich. With the precedent established in General, Dalrymple could then try to expel the leading militants and extend his bureaucratic domination over these larger locals in the International. There is little wonder that the capitalist press has lauded Dalrymple's action to the skies.

The issue has been joined between the bureaucratic top clique of the URWA and the membership. It is now clearly revealed that Dalrymple and his clique do not function in the interests of the union membership. They are wielding their bureaucratic clubs in behalf of the corporations and their government.

The rank and file rubber workers in the URWA are waging a determined struggle to preserve their democratic rights. This fight for internal union democracy is an integral part of the struggle for the independence of their union from corporation-government domination and control.

Who's He Kidding?

Reprinted from Toledo Union Journal, Jan. 12

WORKERS' FORUM

The columns are open to the opinions of the readers of The Militant. *Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers, but keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed. — Editor.*

A. L. P. Policy

Editor:

Although I have been a steady reader of **The Militant**, your articles on the internecine ALP warfare leave a number of questions unanswered. A class-conscious worker can understand that there is no programmatic fight involved in the Dubinsky-Hillman-Stalinist fight. Yet in the last gubernatorial elections the Socialist Workers Party supported the Labor Party candidate as a progressive step toward teaching workers to think along independent class lines.

Today Hillman returns to battle for the dissolution of a labor organization he never wanted. He is joined with the Stalinists, whose last party line (a la Browder) dictates the dissolution of such an independent political grouping. Your correspondent does not dismiss the fact that in an upsurge the CP may use a labor party to channelize working class action. But today the Communists and Roosevelt's direct lieutenant Hillman desire the capture of the ALP only to dissolve it.

Dubinsky is a labor lieutenant who understands a party as a more impressive bargaining instrument than a back door conference with the Squire of the White House. This is to me, the nub of the present clouded ALP struggle. If the above explanation is accepted, it would be the duty of a class conscious ALP worker to support the right wing conditionally.

To preserve the instrument for labor action is as important as supporting Dean Alfange in an election likewise lacking a clear programmatic difference.

A Sympathizer
New York City

(See article on the ALP factional fight in this issue—Editor)

Wallace Speech

Editor:

I heard Wallace speak to 6500 at a "Win the War Rally" here on Feb. 4. Wallace warned what he called the "big three," big business, big agriculture, and big labor, not to come into conflict with the "common man," of whom he is the self-appointed representative. By demagogically identifying the millions of workers organized into trade unions with the profiteering capitalists, he attacks those whom he claims to represent.

We have seen in recent times that the representatives of the ruling class always "impartially" attack both capital and labor, but seem to get results only against labor.

Wallace speaks about the maintenance and extension of the New Deal. He declares that Roosevelt will, in the future, give the New Deal a firmer foundation than it ever had before. This in the face of repeated open declarations by Roosevelt that the living standards of the workers have to be depressed; and also in the face of the efforts by Roosevelt to give up even the title "New Deal."

From all this one would have to conclude either that Wallace was himself being deceived or that he was out to deceive the people. In the face of Roosevelt's open declaration on the abandonment of the New Deal it is evident that Wallace's purpose is to keep up the illusions of those who look in vain for the government to show them a way out.

Wallace's solution for the lack of food due to the high cost of living is to give everyone $2 worth of vitamins a year. Now this may be all right as a dietary supplement but only an idiot could expect it to replace food. An idiot or an overseer of slaves trying to cut down the cost of food for his slaves.

A. L.
Los Angeles

International Notes

ITALY

An eye-witness observer from Italy reports in the British **Tribune**, Jan. 28, on the methods of Allied Military Government rule in conquered territory. When Allied troops first occupy a town, an election is sometimes held to determine if the populace wish to retain the old Fascist mayor and officials. Usually, the people repudiate them and elect their own popular choices. The former officials are then placed under house arrest, pending final disposition by the AMG. Then, as the **Tribune** report states, "the incredible happens."

"After a considerable time, and when the war has moved further, an Amgot appears on the scene. . . In untold cases, the deposed Fascist Mayor is released and reinstated in the place of the newly-elected mayor. There are no reasons given . . . except that well-worn phrase 'military expediency' . . .

"The practicable explanation of this fantastic procedure seems to be a very simple one. What decides the matter in 99 out of a 100 cases is the fact that the deposed Fascist will have the best house, the best food and wine and the best connections with the black market. In a fit of cynical frankness a high-ranking commanding officer told our correspondent that 'no Fascist need fear anything as long as he is a good bridge player and an amiable chap and has a decent house and good brandy.'

"But Amgot has announced a change of policy. It is this. In a statement by the Amgot authorities in Italy, published last December in the Naples issue of the U. S. Army newspaper Star and Stripes, it was officially declared that: 'Amgot will in future be more lenient with—Fascists'."

ENGLAND

Prime Minister Churchill's intervention on behalf of the Tory candidate in the important West Derbyshire by-elections received a decisive rebuff last week. **The independent labor candidate, Charles White, who repudiated the Tory-Labor party political truce, administered an overwhelming defeat to Churchill's man, the Marquess of Hartington, son and heir of the Duke of Devonshire, whose family has been part of the British ruling caste for the last 300 years.**

White, son of a cobbler who formerly led the Labor Party in his district, resigned from the LP in order to contest the re-election of the Marquess, who would have been permitted to run for re-election uncontested under the terms of the political truce.

The resounding defeat of the heir of the Duke of Devonshire is symptomatic of wide-spread labor opposition to the political truce maintained by the Labor Party bureaucrats in their war-time coalition with the Tory stewards of British imperialism.

ARGENTINA

Strikes and labor demonstrations "prompted more by political than economic reasons" broke out in various part of Argentina last week, according to a special wire to the N. Y. **Times**, Feb. 19. The strikes began among construction workers in Quilmes in the Province of Buenos Aires and rapidly spread to thousands of construction and metallurgical workers in Buenos Aires and elsewhere when they received word of an assault by the police on the Quilmes strikers. The **Times** reports the dictatorial Ramirez regime is taking exceptional measures to suppress the strikes quickly, since the government fears the strikes may become general and take the form of revolutionary action against the regime.

This is the first news of the efforts of the Argentine proletariat to intervene in the present critical political situation by means of their own independent class action.

Servicemen's Paper Hits "Hate Labor" Propaganda

The mid-Pacific **Army Newspaper**, published in Hawaii, in its Jan. 15 issue gives the lie direct to the claims of Army brass hats and the administration that the rank and file soldiers are demanding anti-labor measures and are solidly backing the Roosevelt-Wall St. drive to regiment the workers.

In an editorial, "Soldiers Are Workingmen Too," the Army Newspaper gives an authentic expression of soldier opinion in contrast to the labor-hating slanders of Gen. Marshall, Secretary Stimson and Admiral Land which the capitalist press smeared across banner headlines. The editorial states in part:

"Note must be taken of the way certain periodicals reaching soldiers have begun a campaign against labor. This is not new. As in the present case, such drives are based on half-truths, omissions and a paternalistic 'This hurts me more than it does you' attitude.

"Soldiers, generally, are concerned about this unfair carping. Most of them are workingmen. It is estimated that nearly a million are trade union members.

"It is well to remember that the trade union movement is one of the first bulwarks against Fascism. This is proven by the fact that the unions were among the first to feel the iron heel of the Fascists in Germany, Italy and Japan."

"Any time a labor dispute is reported, the published version, with few exceptions, is colored in favor of the employer. Yet there are always two sides to any dispute. In these days the working people need a few dollars more to cover the ever rising costs of living.

"Judging from the financial reports in the Wall Street Journal, industry is well able to comply with such demands. The biggest profit in its history is being piled up, despite propaganda to the contrary. The reports include both steel and railroads, now figuring in current disputes.

"The soldier, who is a working man in khaki, asks that both sides be given an even break before going off half-cocked with misleading hate-producing articles."

Farm Bloc Wants To End School Lunches Subsidy

The Congressional farm bloc, representing the rich landowning and food interests, is preparing to perpetrate an atrocity right here in America against 5,000,000 children of school age.

A move is afoot in the House Agricultural Subcommittee, dominated by the farm bloc reactionaries, to abolish the present federal program which provides hot school lunches for some 5,000,000 undernourished children of impoverished families.

This program has been in effect since the establishment of federal food subsidies during the thirties, when this same farm bloc was anxious to have the government buy up agricultural surpluses.

School and public health officials warned the committee that dangerous malnutrition and disease would result from discontinuance of the school lunch appropriations. To which leading members of the committee replied that this is an issue intended as "another subterfuge to discredit the farmers," and an "encroachment of the Federal Government on the rights of the states."

Alien Property Custodian In Pay Of Big Business

Leo T. Crowley, the man whom Roosevelt placed in charge of the administration of German patents and properties in this country, and who is supposed to aid in breaking up the links with the German parent concerns, is revealed now to be suspiciously close to American capitalists and corporations having previous connections with German industrial and banking interests.

Crowley is Alien Property Custodian in charge of German property in America worth hundreds of millions and over 4,000 patents controlled before Pearl Harbor by German interests.

Crowley, who holds two other key government posts, chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. and Foreign Economic Administrator, is on leave of absence, with full pay of $75,000 a year, from his private job as chairman and president of Standard Gas & Electric, one of America's greatest utility holding companies.

In this capacity, he is a subordinate to Victor Emanuel, president of Standard Light & Power, which is the holding company over Crowley's Standard Gas.

Emanuel, Crowley's superior, secured his domination of Standard Gas and Standard Power through his powerful position as head of Aviation Corp., a post he obtained in part with the financial backing of the Schroder international banking firm, which has leading banks in New York and London.

The American and British Schroder banks, are in turn connected with the Schroder banking firm in Germany, whose chief figure, Kurt Von Schroder, secured the support of the Rhineland industrialists for Hitler.

Among the holdings now under Crowley's custody is the General Aniline & Film Corp., chief subsidiary of the Nazi I. G. Farben chemical trust in this country, and its sales subsidiary, General Dyestuffs. To the present board of General Dyestuffs, Crowley has appointed Emanuel and several of his intimate associates.

Meanwhile three anti-trust suits against General Aniline, instituted since Pearl Harbor, have not yet been tried after two years.

Last week, Roosevelt announced he is accepting Crowley's resignation as Alien Property Custodian.

Crowley will henceforth devote full time to the more important post of Foreign Economic Administrator, with power over all government agencies dealing with every phase of government economic activity throughout the world.